

[Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan] [2nd August 1933]

he has himself kindly promised, to investigate the possibility of establishing a broadcasting system as early as possible. There is no doubt that the financial difficulties are there and as the Government have stated they have not so far investigated the question. But we have before us the examples of other countries where a broadcasting service is working successfully. It ought not to be difficult for the Government if they make up their minds to establish a broadcasting system in this province as early as possible and bring it into working order."

Mr. A. B. SHETTY:—"I accept the amendment, Sir."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"The question is, *for the word 'establish' in line 2, substitute the words 'investigate the possibility of establishing'.*"

Mr. A. B. SHETTY:—"I accept the amendment, Sir."

The amendment was put and carried.

The resolution, as amended, was put and carried.

CREATION OF AN ANDHRA PROVINCE.

12-45
p.m.

* Mr. A. HARISCHANDRUDU:—"Mr. President, Sir, I beg to move the resolution standing against my name—

'this Council recommends to the Government that they may be pleased to urge upon the Government of India and the Secretary of State the great and urgent necessity of creating the Andhra Province simultaneously with the inauguration of the new Constitution in India.'

"In commending my resolution to the House, it will be unnecessary for me to speak at great length as the hon. Members are intimately acquainted with the discussions that have been carried on from time to time both inside as well as outside the House on the subject of the need for the creation of an Andhra Province. Ever since the Andhra Conference was organized in 1913 about 20 years ago, this question came to occupy the primary attention of the public of the Andhra Desa and in almost every annual session a resolution in favour of the establishment of a Province was passed. The Conference has always been representative in character and some of the foremost leaders of the province, men like the late Raja of Panagal and Sir B. N. Sarma and those like Messrs. C. R. Reddi and Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao Pantulu presided over the annual sessions and the opinion of such public men like the hon. the Raja of Bobbili deserves weighty considerations at the hands of all. The Standing Committee of the Conference has been carrying on systematic propaganda on the subject and is educating the public and it has collected a large amount of data to demonstrate the soundness of the proposal. On successive occasions resolutions on the subject were moved in this very House, and found support from a large majority of the Members. Both in the Imperial Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, the proposal received the

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acceptance of a fairly large section. It was a prominent subject at the time of the discussions on the Reforms of 1919 and well-informed statesmen like Lionel Curtis supported it. More recently, prominence was given to it in the enquiries of the Simon Commission and the Government of India despatch on their recommendations. Our Chief Minister, the Raja Sahib of Bobbili himself brought the question to the notice of the Round Table Conference in a most well-reasoned and eloquent memorandum while there were representations from other equally responsible quarters to the Conference.

"A study of the above discussions shows that the principle of the creation of an Andhra Province has been approved by all those that could speak with authority on it. The principle is so simple to follow and so sound in its essentials that lengthy arguments in its favour are not required. It is however necessary to show how in the ancient Indian polity, the Andhra was always a separate unit independent of the neighbouring units like Calinga, Dravida and Karnataka. In the traditional list of the Kingdoms and States that constituted the country, the Andhra Kingdom occupied a prominent place. Even in the middle ages, it continued under the name of Telingana to be a separate State with Warangal as capital. In the days of the Vizianagar Empire it was administered separately by a Viceroy. Until the establishment of the British Dominion in the latter part of the 18th century, there was no period when the Andhra ceased to be a unit by itself or when it was tacked to the Tamil and Karnataka districts for administrative purposes. The establishment of common administrative authority over the Andhra, the Tamil, the Malayalam and the Kanarese speaking peoples of South India, was a mere accident and an accident that has proved detrimental to all of them. This unhistorical, untraditional and unnatural contribution has been resented all these years though expression was given to it by the Andhras only 20 years back. The creation of an Andhra Province is merely the revival of a state of affairs which existed in the country from time immemorial and which was found to work quite satisfactorily for ages.

"At this stage it may be asked if it is necessary and desirable that the special needs of the Andhras as such should be taken into consideration in the carrying on of the administration of the province and if they have any special needs at all. The answer to this depends on whether there are any substantial reasons for concluding that there is a strong feeling among the Andhras that as a people there are fundamental differences between them and the non-Andhras in the Presidency, that this feeling deserves respect and consideration and that the best way of showing this respect and consideration is by constituting the Andhra districts into a separate province. I do not have the slightest hesitation in stating that there is such a feeling present among the Andhras. Connected as all the Andhras are by the strongest tie of a common language, which carried with it a common inheritance in the form of culture, traditions and ideals, they feel that they form a homogeneous group or sub-nationality and that in several important respects they are

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different from the Tamils, the Malayalis, etc. There is not much more in common between them and the other people in the Madras Province than there is between them and the Oriyas, or the Maharashtras or the Bengalis, and that it is unnatural to keep them tied to the other peoples in Madras. As this separatist feeling is present, it becomes impossible for them to identify their interests in purely provincial matters with those of the Tamils and others. They think that it is reasonable to have the public services in the Andhra districts manned entirely by the Andhras, that the taxes paid by the Andhras should be spent first on the needs of the Andhra country and that irrespective of what is done or not done to Tamil, Kanarese or Malayalam, their language and literature should be developed. Can any one seriously argue that all this will be possible if they are in a province where they are one sub-nationality among a number of such sub-nationalities? It is this that makes the need for creating a separate Andhra Province very real and urgent.

“ Some may say that it is not desirable to take this separatist feeling into consideration even if it exists. But this is an unstatesmanlike attitude. For, in a matter like this, what one has to consider is the size of the country which is proposed to be constituted into a separate province, numerical strength of the people and their resources. It is well-known that the Andhra districts come to about 85,000 square miles and it is much larger than the area of Assam, Sindh, Utkal, Bihar and the North-West Frontier and that it will be slightly larger than Bengal, and nearly as large as the Punjab. Its population is 18 millions. It exceeds that of Assam, Baluchistan, Burma, Central Provinces and Berar and nearly equal to that of the Punjab. It has rich resources in the shape of extensive lands of great fertility, rich forests, large rivers, minerals and an immense scope for all kinds of development. In the matter of revenue it exceeds that of Central Provinces and Berar, Assam, Bihar and Orissa and equals that of the Punjab. The Andhra Province does not stand in need of any subvention from the Central Government like the proposed Sindh and Utkal Provinces. A people occupying such an area and with such potentialities and numbering 18 millions cannot be considered a small community whose feelings do not deserve consideration. Moreover even on the basis of the existing figures, it will be able to command a revenue of nearly nine crores of rupees with possibilities of increase when once a separate provincial administration is established and the economic and human resources of the area are well developed.

“ It may be thought that there is nothing now to prevent the Andhras from making their influence grow in political circles and from their seeing that the Andhra districts receive as fair a treatment at the hands of the Government as the other districts in the Presidency. Such a course is neither possible nor practicable. A Government responsible for the administration of this large area cannot look at things from the standpoint of this section or that section. It will not pay attention to the varying needs of different parts. To the Government it will be a matter

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of indifference whether an irrigation project is started in the extreme south or the extreme north. The province as a whole is the unit which it will always keep under consideration and it will have a tendency to brush aside as irrelevant all arguments put forward from the standpoint of particular sections or groups. It is, therefore, clear that there is no prospect of the special needs of the Andhras being cared for so long as they are not under a separate administration of their own.

“ It was under these circumstances that the different sub-nationalities living in the Madras Presidency began to examine how far the work undertaken by the Government was proving beneficial to each of them and whether it was possible for a Provincial Government exercising control over a heterogeneous population to satisfy equitably the legitimate aspirations of each section of such a population. The Andhras have found from experience that in neither of these two directions was the treatment they were receiving satisfactory. Due to purely predominant non-Andhra element at the headquarters, the Government has been attracted more to the non-Andhra districts than to the Andhra districts. Take, for instance, the Secretariat establishment. We do not find a single Andhra in the higher ranks. In the lower grades you may be able to find a couple of clerks and that too in some departments. In everything the start was first made in the non-Andhra element and naturally the people there had more opportunities of becoming richer, more educated and more influential in the administration of the country. They gained an upper hand in the public services. They could persuade the Government to spend more funds on irrigation and hydro-electric schemes in the non-Andhra districts. They secured nearer their home, the only Engineering College, the only Agricultural College, the only Law College, the only Women's College and most of the technical and professional schools and institutions. Under modern conditions no people can raise themselves to higher status until they have adequate educational facilities. In this province such facilities were provided for in only one part and even when it was possible they were not distributed on a regional basis. The Andhras were therefore left behind in carrying on the battle of life and this is bound to be the case so long as there is one administration common to them and to several other sub-nationalities.

“ The causes of this resentment resulting in a desire to have a separate province are easily understood. It is due to a changing conception of the State and the functions of Government in modern times. At the time when the British rule was established in the country, there was a good deal of anarchy and confusion when people could not enjoy even the ordinary blessings of peace, order and security. These elementary blessings were conferred by the British and for a long time the ideal which they set before themselves did not go very much beyond the preservation of peace and order. The people also did not look to the Government for anything else. The establishment of an efficient Police and collection of revenue are functions of a mechanical character in the discharge of which the traditions, the culture and civilization of the

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people or their varying economic requirements play no part. No inconvenience arises if a number of sub-nationalities are grouped together under one administration. But as time went on, the British felt that their true work lies not in the preservation of peace alone, but in the promotion of the general welfare of the people, the development of economic resources of the country, the removal of social evils, the establishment of educational institutions, the carrying out of improvements in agriculture, irrigation, industries, and other nation-building activities. The people of the country also began to test the work of Government with reference to progress in these directions and not merely on the basis of mere peace and order. The State came to be looked upon as a social service institution and the expectation was formed that through it the welfare of all sections of the people should be promoted.

“Not only from the point of view of the Andhras, but from that of the country as a whole, the organization of a separate Andhra Province is imperative. The India that is to come into existence will be a democratic India. But democracy in the sense in which it is now understood is new to the country and its successful working requires provinces based on linguistic principles which are small in size, compact and homogeneous in respect of their populations. The intimate contact between the electorate and the representative which is the essence of a democratic form of Government will be possible only when the area is comparatively small. The functioning of the legislature on proper lines requires a common outlook on essentials which is possible only when the members belong to a homogeneous community with differences in language or ideals or traditions. As important as these is the organization of parties in the legislature on real political lines and not on linguistic or other alien considerations. But in a province like that of Madras of the present day, parties are bound to be organized on linguistic lines if the existing state of affairs is continued and questions will be looked at from the Andhra, the Tamil and the Malayali standpoint which will in the long run prove injurious to a healthy political life. The only way in which these dangers can be avoided is by creating the Andhra districts into a separate province, small and compact in size and homogeneous in respect of its population. This has been recognized and advocated by eminent authorities as Lord Curzon and Lionel Curtis. Sir Lionel Curtis who had much to do with the Montford Scheme of Reforms was shrewd enough to observe that the only proper and effective way of making responsible Government successful is to reconstitute the provinces in India on purely linguistic basis.

“There are some who think that this will add another element of disunion and discard to the numerous elements that have already found their place in our country. But this is to lose sight of the nature of political unity that is possible in our country and the lines on which it should be promoted. In a country with a number of major languages and sub-nationalities, the only kind of unity possible is one that is based

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on a recognition of the existence of differences in language and nationalities. To proceed as if they are non-existent or to ignore them will be a great folly. Statesmanship consists in building on such materials. There is no reason to think that the hostility, if any, between the Andhras and the Tamils will become intense the moment the former have a separate province of their own and that they will remain friends if only they are artificially tacked on to the wheels of the same administrative chariot. On the other hand there will be more of mutual rivalry and ill-feeling if this artificial and unnatural union is continued. And the larger unity of the country will not in any way be effected by an increase in the number of provinces by two or three. If the separation of Sind from Bombay or of Orissa from Behar or of Assam from the old Province of Bengal has not created or is not going to create more of discord or unity, there is no reason to think that it will have such an effect if a new Andhra Province is established.

“As regards cost of administration, the cost should not stand in the way of the creation of new provinces. It has been said that the creation of a separate province will entail extra expenditure on the people. What is to be considered in this connexion is not the question of extra expenditure, but that of extra advantages in the area which forms part of the new province. To say that this is a period of depression is not correct ; because the depression is only temporary. If, on the other hand, it is going to be permanent, then the expenditure can be easily adjusted proportionately. So, the depression should not stand in the way of the creation of new provinces. Sir, depression did not stand in the way of the creation of the North-West Frontier Province or of Orissa. 1 p.m.

“I hope that I have been able to convince the House that the creation of an Andhra Province is a matter of great necessity. But, in my opinion, it is not merely one of necessity but the need for it is urgent and immediate. It has to be created with the inauguration of the new Constitution of India. The coming Constitution is transforming the whole character of Indian polity, and a time when such momentous changes are taking place is just the time for settling the number and nature of the provinces that should constitute the country and become the units of a Federal India. His Majesty's Secretary of State for India has definitely stated that under the new Constitution, the power to create new provinces will not be given to the Federal Government. So that, if the Andhra Province is not now created, the question will have to be deferred till the proposed Constitution Act is again amended. This amounts to postponing the question to the Greek Calends. The agitation for the Andhra Province has been going on for twenty years now. The volume of public opinion in its favour is large. The people concerned are prepared for it. This is therefore the most opportune time for it. If it is not done now, there is the danger that the Andhra public would feel keenly disappointed and that the new scheme of Government will have to meet with constant opposition from the Andhra representatives on the legislature and the Andhra political organizations outside. The province will be thrown into the turmoils of a fierce political ferment

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on this subject and the peaceful working of the Reforms becomes an impossibility. The only way to avert such a danger is to proceed to the creation of an Andhra Province without any further delay.

“The urgency of the matter has become all the greater in view of the evidence given by the hon. the Secretary of State, Sir Samuel Hoare, before the Parliamentary Joint Committee on the White Paper. He expressed his opinion that he did not like to have a Boundaries Commission set up implying thereby that he viewed with disfavour any move for the redistribution of provinces, and the little provision that is made in section 52 of the present Government of India Act is going to be removed under the proposed Constitution. It is a matter for serious concern that the Secretary of State should have adopted an attitude like this. But it can be easily understood that it is chiefly due to his not having realized how strong the feeling is among the Andhras in favour of a separate province. It therefore becomes all the more necessary for the hon. Members of this House and especially those who claim to represent the Andhra districts to treat this subject as one of great urgency and to take a dispassionate view of the matter so that the authorities in London might pay sufficient attention to it. I assure you that I am not actuated by feelings of racial hatred. A sacred and onerous burden rests upon the shoulders of every Member of this House to fulfil the legitimate and just aspirations of their people. In view of these considerations, I fervently appeal to the hon. Members to stand by the legitimate aspiration of the Andhra nation and support my resolution.”

Mr. A. V. BHANOJI RAO:—“Mr. President, Sir, I have very great pleasure in seconding this resolution moved by my hon. Friend. He has left very little for me to speak on this particular resolution. He surveyed from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, taking all the districts and discussing all their merits and defects. But I think there are one or two points that the House should take note of. The first point is that this House has passed two resolutions recommending the creation of a separate Andhra Province; but nothing has come out of them. I am afraid the Government have not taken sufficient interest in the creation of the Andhra Province. If they had only taken interest as in the case of the other provinces, for instance, the Bihar and Orissa, by this time we would have had our quota, along with the beginning of the new Constitution. I am sure this resolution fulfils our intentions to bring before the Government the necessity for having provinces on a linguistic basis. My friend, Mr. Harischandrudu, has already spoken on the advantages of having provinces on a linguistic basis and it is time that such provinces were created, having regard to the statement made by the Secretary of State lately, and also to the great difficulties that will have to be met with after the coming of the Constitutional Reforms, if such arrangements are not made at the earliest possible moment. As we all know, new provinces have been created, even though there were found to be many difficulties, financial and otherwise, in the way of having a separate administration. Perhaps it is due to the fact that they are nearer to the

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celestial heights of Simla that they have had an opportunity of having their own provinces coming into existence, before the other areas which feel the necessity thereof. I am sure hon. Gentlemen in this House will take a dispassionate view of the whole question. It is not a question of Andhra or Tamil; I for one fully believe that it is only proper that there should be provinces on a linguistic basis, and the quicker they are created, the better for their administration. If we do not agitate at this moment, I am afraid we will not have our provinces on a linguistic basis at all even in the future. I hope hon. Members will support this resolution on this one ground at least, that there ought to be provinces on a linguistic basis in India."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"The motion before the House is—
'this Council recommends to the Government of India and the Secretary of State the great and urgent necessity of creating the Andhra Province simultaneously with the inauguration of the new Constitution in India.'"

* Mr. R. M. PALAT:—"Sir, there are two amendments standing in my name; one of them is that this question be revived after the Reforms have been inaugurated, and the second is to add the words 'and a Kerala Province' after the words 'Andhra Province.' I shall now move the second one first and speak about the creation of a Kerala Province. Sir, most of the arguments which were used . . ."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"Let me point out to the hon. Member that the other amendment that he has given notice of is for resolution No. 24 on the agenda and not for this resolution."

* Mr. R. M. PALAT:—"I am sorry, Sir, I shall leave it, then. I shall now merely speak about the formation of the Kerala Province. Most of the arguments used for the formation of an Andhra Province apply equally well as regards the formation of a Kerala Province. In fact, our case is really much stronger than that of the Andhra Province. Sir, the first argument advanced against us is that we need not have a separate province; because we should all try to gradually coalesce into one and that Madras as capital would do. As regards that argument, my reply is this: In that case, Delhi will do just as well, and the whole of India may coalesce into one State, and we may all form part of a Central Government. But wherever there is a cultural and linguistic group which is sufficiently different from the other groups forming part of the same Presidency or State, it is entitled, I believe, to become a different province or State by itself. This has been acknowledged by the Government of India Act in a provision which says that the Governor-General may, under certain circumstances, allow the formation of new provinces. At the other end, we have the Congress which has also said that Kerala should be a separate province. Sir, the United States of America, which has about half the population of India, has got 48 States forming that Dominion. Although we have double that population here, we have only fifteen States. They have so many States because they

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think that the smaller the State the more easily could the State look after the needs of the people and could react to those needs more quickly. Sir, we have the settlement question now in Malabar; and if we had a separate Governor, or if the Collector of Malabar were the Commissioner or the Governor of Malabar, he could more easily be influenced because he would be the man on the spot, and he would know our needs far more than a Government which is three or four hundred miles away from us. Again, Sir, as regards appointments, etc., we have heard in this Council that Malayalis are getting too many appointments. If that is the view of the people here, and if they regard us as belonging to a different nationality, we have every claim to separate ourselves. I may also point out that since the Reforms came, the number of appointments that we have got in the Transferred Half is practically nil. Almost every appointment that we got was by promotion from the services. There has not been a single Malayali Minister, nor has there been a single Malayali Secretary after the Reforms came in. (An hon. Member: The Law Member is a Malayali gentleman.) I say that is all on the Reserved Half; and when we have no more Reserved Half, we do not expect that we will get the same justice done to us as we have been getting all along, while there has been the Reserved Half. The only Malayali who has been in the Cabinet since the Reforms came in is Sir M. Krishnan Nayar and he is on the Reserved Half and not on the Transferred Half. Therefore, Sir, from another point of view also, the Andhras with their larger numbers could always command a certain following in this Council while the Malayalis who are very few and who form only one district in the whole Presidency, cannot bring sufficient pressure to bear on a completely self-governing Madras Province, as the Andhras could do. When the Reserved Half was there, it was looking after the affairs of the whole Presidency unaffected by the votes in this Council and merit counted, which I do not think counts so much now in spite of all that is being said.

“Then again, Sir, the tendency throughout the world is for the formation of minor provinces. We know, Sir, that in the European countries, linguistic and racial ideas form an important factor; and in Scandinavia for instance, Norway has been allowed to separate itself and become a separate unit. We feel that we would be much better looked after in a small State; we would rather look after our own affairs than get a few jobs in Madras; and we would much rather go to our own country than come here for those jobs. The happiness of our people is far more to us than a ministership or two here, and a couple of judgeships. From that point of view—I suppose every Malayali here will support me—of the happiness of the people of Malabar as a separate State, I should think that Malabar is dearer to us than a few jobs outside our district.”

Mr. P. MADHUSOODHANAN THANGAL:—“I second it.”

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—“The amendment is:

‘Add the words “and a Kerala Province” after the words “Andhra Province.”’

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* MR. U. C. SUBRAHMANYA BHATT:—"Mr. President, Sir, the amendment which I have given notice of and which I now beg to move is: 1.15 p.m.

"To add the words "and a Karnataka Province" after the words "Andhra Province" occurring in this resolution."

"My aim in giving notice of this amendment is that all people that speak a particular language wherever they are, provided they are in a contiguous situation, should form themselves into a separate entity and have a voice in the government of their districts. The districts which I would like to include within the Karnataka Province in the Presidency of Madras are South Kanara and Bellary, and in the Bombay Presidency they are North Kanara, Hubli, Dharwar, Belgaum and Bijapur, and also Coorg from the Government of India. All these districts put together will form a contiguous area for administrative purposes. They are predominantly Kanarese-speaking areas and I believe they are sufficiently large and would be sufficiently self-supporting financially also. These districts in all have got a population of over 5 millions which, I think, would be fairly large enough for the constitution of a separate Karnataka Province. I do not think it is necessary for me to enumerate here all the difficulties which the Kanarese-speaking people are subject to. If the Andhra people have got a strong case for the formation of an Andhra Province, I may say at once that the Kanarese-speaking people have got a still stronger case for the formation of a Karnataka Province. So far as the Andhra people are concerned, they have at least this much in their favour that they are all within one province and that they are fairly large and can make their voice felt as often we see they can make themselves felt even in this Council. But, so far as the Kanarese-speaking people are concerned, they are divided among various administrations and everywhere they are in a minority. In the Bombay Presidency they are about 19 per cent, and in the Madras Presidency they are about 6 or 7 per cent, though, no doubt, in Coorg they have got a separate administration. So the Kanarese-speaking people, being in a minority, are always hampered in the matter of a separate province for themselves. The Kanarese-speaking people are cut up into so many different communities in each administration so much so Karnataka is like a body which is dismembered and each part is always in search of its soul. The agony of such a body can very well be realized by the Government and everybody concerned. I need not and I cannot sufficiently describe the agony which the Kanarese-speaking people are put to on account of this dismemberment. I therefore need not dwell very much on the necessity of the Karnataka Province. This question has been under the consideration of the Kanarese-speaking people for over 20 years. And time after time they have given expression to this opinion of theirs from various platforms. The Government of India also have recognized that hereafter provinces should be distributed on a linguistic basis. As early as 1912 in the Coronation Despatches of the Viceroy and also the Secretary of State they have adopted this as the guiding principle. In 1919 the Montagu-Chelmsford Report also clearly sets out, as also the

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Government of India Act, that when any people speaking a particular language express their desire through their legislature that they should have a separate Government and a separate province, the Viceroy should give expression to it. It is embodied in section 52-A of the Government of India Act which says:

'The Governor-General in Council may, after obtaining an expression of opinion from the Local Government and the local legislature affected, by notification, with the sanction of His Majesty previously signified by the Secretary of State in Council, constitute a new Governor's Province under the administration of a Deputy Governor to be appointed by the Governor-General and may in such case apply, with such modifications as appear necessary or desirable, all or any of the provisions of this Act relating to Governors' Provinces or provinces under a Lieutenant Governor or Chief Commissioner, to any such new province or part of a province.'

'The Kanarese-speaking people, Sir, have about the year 1926 in the Karnataka Unification Conference which was held at Belgaum I believe under the presidency of my hon. Friend, Mr. Ranganatha Mudaliyar, and to which representatives both from Bombay and Madras attended, unequivocally given expression to this view and this feeling that a Karnataka Province is an absolute necessity and that it should be brought into existence. Then again, Sir, in about 1926, the then hon. Dr. U. Rama Rao moved a resolution in the Council of State to the effect that a Karnataka Province should be brought into being immediately. He was then informed, Sir, as the report of the discussions would show, by the spokesman of the Government that it was a matter which ought to be first moved in the local legislature.

'Then again in 1929 on August 8 a resolution was moved in this Council by Mr. P. Siva Rao, the then Member for Bellary, supported by all the Members from South Kanara as well as by all the Members from Bellary, and it was carried unanimously. But still, Sir, nothing has been done in the direction of the creation of a Karnataka Province.

'Then again, Sir, this matter was also placed before the All-Parties Conference which produced the Nehru Report, and the advocates of the Karnataka Province placed all the material before them and convinced them of the necessity for a separate Karnataka Province. The Nehru Report gives the first place for the creation of a Karnataka Province. This is what they say in that Report:—

'As regards this question, we cannot of course decide it finally. We feel that the advocates of unification have *prima facie* established their right. If I am asked to say which is the most important principle to be taken into consideration in the formation of a new province, I would answer most unhesitatingly language unity for more reasons than one.'

'Such being the case, in spite of all this expression of opinion on the part of the Karnataka people through their legislatures, the Madras Government do not seem to have supported it. The part played by the Madras Government reminds me of a proverb in Kanarese which says that even if God is willing to give something to the worshipper, the wily priest intervenes and prevents God from granting the boon. Though the Viceroy and the authorities higher than the Madras Government were willing to create a separate province, the Madras Government like that wily priest who stood in the way of granting the boon, prevented step by step the creation of a Karnataka Province and have not taken any steps in this direction. What I would submit is that the Madras

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Government should take a more lenient and sympathetic view of the case and I would appeal to the hon. the Revenue Member who is in charge of this department to consider the difficulties under which the Kanarese-speaking people are labouring not only in this province but in the other provinces also and give effect to their long-standing grievance and bring about this unification which has been a long cherished desire of these people. Besides, the question of the creation of a Karnataka Province has been given a further impetus and importance by the question of the future of Coorg. Coorg which is a predominantly Kanarese-speaking district would have joined Madras if it was assured a separate district administration. But, when the Coorg Government consulted the Madras Government the latter would not give that assurance. Now, therefore, they are thinking of joining Mysore. One day or other a Karnataka Province is to be formed. If Coorg joins Mysore now, it would be a distinct loss to any future Karnataka Province. Hence I would add, Sir, that if this question is not given the earnest and immediate consideration which it deserves Karnataka would stand to lose a very valuable and important part of it, viz., Coorg."

Mr. C. INDRAYYA:—"I second it."

Mr. P. V. KRISHNAYYA CHAUDARI:—"Mr. President, Sir, I beg to move my amendment to the resolution—

"For the words "simultaneously with the inauguration of the new constitution in India," substitute the words "and for this purpose, this Council further recommends the appointment of a committee for investigating the financial obligations involved in the creation of the Andhra Province, fixing the boundaries and the capital of the new province and other connected matters"."

"Sir, at the outset, I want to make my position quite clear. I do not intend my amendment to be of a dilatory nature or in any way to shelve the question of the Andhra Province. I feel, Sir, that the question of the Andhra Province depends largely on sentiment; and sentiment like religion, has been in history, one of the greatest motive powers which has always swayed the masses of a country to the highest pitch of enthusiasm and action. I do not, in any manner, wish to stand in the way of this sentiment for the creation of an Andhra Province. The desirability of re-constituting provinces on a linguistic basis has been recognized for a long time by the foremost political organizations in the country; and the Simon Commission have set their seal of approval on such a demand, especially for the creation of an Andhra Province. But, Sir, I do not want a resolution of this type to be rushed through this Council in a hurry; I want that this subject should be discussed from all points of view and that a definite, well-thought-out scheme should be placed before His Majesty's Government, so that such a demand might at once receive sympathetic and favourable consideration at the hands of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, the Secretary of State for India and the Imperial Parliament.

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“ My next point, Sir, is that the question of the Andhra Province need not be unnecessarily tacked on to the inauguration of the new Constitution in India and hence my proposal to omit the words to that effect at the end of the original resolution. Again, I do not want to be misunderstood as saying that this question should not be decided in time to be brought into effect at the inauguration of the new Reforms. But, I desire to point out in this connexion that fears have been expressed in certain quarters, and I feel there is reason behind them, that no cause should be given for further delay in the ushering in of the Reformed Constitution by bringing in fresh points for decision at this late stage; and our cause would in no way lose its strength, simply because we do not press for the creation of the new province simultaneously with the introduction of the new Constitution.

“ I have already stated, Sir, that the move for a separate Andhra Province is largely based upon sentiment and that it is not my intention to oppose that sentiment in any manner; but, Sir, as a representative of the ryots in this Council, and as a ryot myself, it is my duty to see that in achieving our demand, no financial burdens of a crushing nature are imposed upon the cultivators of the soil. Sind and Orissa will be object lessons to us in this matter. We are yet to know whether their separation as independent provinces will place them in a more favourable position than at present with regard to finance and whether they will confer any greater benefit on the masses inhabiting those provinces. My impression is that their financial position would not be very happy. I know, that in the matters of extent of territory, population and the richness of the soil as well as its inhabitants, the Andhras stand in a more favourable position than those provinces. Yet, Sir, I think that this question of finance is worthy of serious consideration at the hands of an expert committee.

“ Again, Sir, the questions of the boundary and the capital for the Andhra Province are not such as can be decided subsequent to its creation, but must be decided upon fairly unanimously prior to pressing our demand. I have in my mind the unfortunate experiences we had with regard to fixing the headquarters of the Andhra University and the subsequent decision of the Ceded districts and Chittoor to keep out and continue to be included in the Madras University. It should be remembered also in this connexion, that a complete scheme, with all the details worked out, would evoke greater sympathy and carry conviction to the minds of the Secretary of State for India and the Imperial Parliament.

“ As I have already stated, Sir, I do not intend my amendment to be of a dilatory nature which would shelve the question for the present. So I would request the Government, if my amendment is accepted by this House, to immediately appoint a committee for this purpose, with powers to tour and take evidence wherever necessary, a committee representative of all the interests concerned and the personnel of which would command the confidence of the people in the Andhra country. This committee will produce a complete picture of the new province demanded by this resolution; and both the Andhras and the Imperial

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Parliament can face the problem with full knowledge of its implications. Sir, I want hon. Members of this House to remember that this is not the first time when similar resolutions were discussed in this Council. Previous Councils have passed such resolutions but nothing has come out of them. We want a better result this time and we desire that this resolution should receive earnest attention at the hands of the Government. For these considerations, Sir, I beg to move my amendment, which I have already read out at the beginning, and request all sides of the House to support it."

The amendment was duly seconded.

The House then adjourned for lunch.

(After Lunch 2-35 p.m.)

* Mr. K. KOTI REDDI:—"I move—

'Add at the end of the resolution, the words "with Madras as its capital".'

"It may be necessary that if some other amendments moved already are carried out in this Council, the position of the words I now moved will have to be changed. Sir, before dealing with the question of the capital of the Andhra Province I may be permitted to say a few words with regard to the necessity and desirability of having a province for the Andhras and for the matter of that the Kanarese and Malayalam speaking people also and may I add Tamil. The necessity for dividing this large country into more provinces has been recognized time after time not only by Moderates, not only by Congressmen but many a time by the Government themselves. So long ago as 1911 in the famous Despatch of Lord Hardinge, reference has been made to the boundaries of various provinces to the effect that they were formed with no intelligible principle and that if administration were to be carried on more efficiently there was necessity for changing the boundaries. Subsequent to that, Sir, when the constitutional changes during 1917 and 1918 were thought of, reference has been made by Lionel Curtis to this defect and he suggested that it would be advisable that the provinces should be smaller and be based on a linguistic basis. Reference to that aspect of the problem has been made by the Montford Report. It is necessary for me to quote from that Report in extenso. The Report says:

'We are impressed with the artificial, and often inconvenient character of existing administrative units. We have seen how historical reasons brought them about. We cannot doubt that the business of the Government would be simplified if administrative units were both smaller and more homogenous. . . . It is also a strong argument in favour of linguistic or racial units of Government that, by making it possible to conduct the business of legislation in the vernacular they would contribute to draw into the arena of public affairs men who were not acquainted with English.'

"Then, Sir, provision is made in the Government of India Act. Reference has already been made to section 52. And although in this Council two resolutions have been passed in favour of constituting an Andhra Province it seems to me that the Local Government has not taken sufficient steps in order to give effect to these resolutions. No doubt they may say that they had taken a neutral attitude and had

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only sent up the Reports of the Council. I may refer to another committee which cannot be accused of being too nationalistic and which cannot be accused of being inexperienced. It would be of interest to know that the committee consisted of Sir Alexander Muddiman, Sir Muhammad Shafi, Maharaja of Burdwan, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Arthur Froom, Sir Sivaswami Ayyar, Sir Moncrief Smith, Mr. Jinna and Dr. Parajpye. Most of them are experienced administrators and some of them are Government officials. This is what they say at page 51:

'These units have been shaped as explained in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report by the military, political or administrative exigencies or conveniences of the moment and with small regard to the natural affinities or wishes of the people.'

"Again, Sir, they say that the number of such units should be small: 'We are now considering the difficulties in the working of Responsible Government in India, and we feel that these difficulties are much enhanced by reason of the large size of several provinces, their artificial and unnatural boundaries and the want of homogeneity in their populations.' This was said so long ago as 1924. Subsequent to that event the Government of India in their statement submitted to the Statutory Commission practically admitted the soundness of the principle of dividing this province into much smaller homogenous units. Reference was made to them in the first volume of the Statutory Commission.

"It seems to me, Sir, that there is some misapprehension with regard to the proposal of provinces on linguistic basis. It is said that because we want provinces on linguistic basis, the results of that will be this country will be cut up into a very large number of provinces. Secondly, it is said that because it is not possible to bring all the area speaking one language under one province, you cannot have a province. One objection to the idea of dividing this country on linguistic basis is that the Indian States also consisted people speaking those languages. Because in Hyderabad and Mysore there are some Telugu-speaking people, how can we have a province of people speaking Telugu? From the fact that we want provinces based on linguistic considerations, it does not necessarily follow that all the Telugu-speaking people should be in one province. I maintain, that for good reasons, a particular area speaking one language may be divided into two provinces. If it is too large I do not see, Sir, any reason why the particular area speaking one language should not be divided into two provinces. Only the converse, viz., that in one province there can be many languages, is not true. Because we cannot have a province for all the Telugu speaking people, to say let us not have any province at all is not sound. We really believe that we are going to develop democratic institutions in the future. What is democracy if you cannot see that the average man who contributes tax to the coffers takes sufficient interest in the administration of the country? Can you really expect the administration to be carried on efficiently if the speeches that are made in this Council in English are not understood by the people? Can you really expect that I ask you, Sir, especially in future under the new Reforms? Many a time I have referred in this Council to the difficulty experienced on

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account of the administration being carried on in the English language. It is deplorable when we see the result of it in the Telugu-speaking areas. Take, for example, elementary education. Inspectors who do not know Telugu—probably they may have passed some Telugu test for the purpose of satisfying the service rules—these inspectors have to examine the Telugu the pupils studying in our elementary schools, and the inspection ends only in sham. It is the result of having a polyglot province, a province speaking so many languages. I think the linguistic principle is a very sound principle to be followed in the delimitation of provinces. An administration based on linguistic considerations will certainly be more efficient than it is now. I lay stress not only on linguistic considerations, but there are other considerations also. One of these considerations is this. Especially when we are going to develop a Federal Government for certain purposes and autonomous provinces for certain other purposes, I am certain that it is better to have much smaller area for each province. Madras is too big an area for a province under the Federation. Under the Federal scheme, the functions of the provinces will be separated from those of the Government at the Centre."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"The hon. Member has exceeded his time-limit."

MR. K. KOTI REDDI:—"With a few more words, I shall close. I have explained to you the necessity of having provinces of a much smaller area than you find now as in the Madras Presidency.

"With regard to my amendment to make Madras as the capital of the Andhra Province, some of my friends may look upon it with wonder or with some other feeling which I do not want to describe. But, I consider, Sir, that we have sufficient reasons for having Madras as the capital of the proposed Andhra Province. First of all, I may say that so far as Madras is concerned, every language unit of this Presidency has as much claim for Madras as the other. When the East India Company came and established its fort here, Madras was a fishing village, and it has now grown into a big city with more than six lakhs of people. I say therefore that Madras belongs to all the people of the Presidency, whether Tamils or Telugus. Secondly, we have the historical reason that it is the Andhra King that gave the territory of Madras to the British. For this reason, we have a claim for Madras as much as any other people. Madras has other advantages from the point of view of Andhradesa. Many buildings are here which can be used for the capital. Otherwise, how are you going to compensate us for having spent so much money on buildings if Madras is not going to be the capital? By this I do not mean that I want my Tamil brethren to go out of Madras. A part of Madras can be set apart for the purpose of headquarters of the Andhra Province. In Madras, we Telugus can live together with Tamils and others and rub shoulders with each other like brethren, as Dr. Natesa Mudaliyar wanted. It is possible to have Madras as the capital for two provinces. With these words, Sir, I move my amendment."

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Mr. SAMI VENKATACHALAM CHETTI:—“ I rise, Sir, to second the amendment made by my hon. Friend Mr. Koti Reddi. In doing so, I have got a few observations to make. I am in a position of having to choose one of too many good things. Each amendment which has been proposed by various speakers is good enough. Nobody can possibly take exception to an amendment that districts in which Kanarese population live should be made a separate province. Again, can you possibly object to sentiments expressed with regard to having a separate Kerala Province? Therefore, one is in a very difficult position to choose which amendment has got to be supported. But if we go into the matter a little more deeply, we shall be able to find out that various claims have been made on behalf of various provinces of subsequent origin. The first claim for a linguistic province emanated from the Andhras, and they had by this time been able to convince the people belonging to other districts and people using other languages that their claim is well-founded and that the consideration of the question of the formation of a separate province that is purely Andhra should be first tackled. Perhaps, this question has come up before this Council many times before. Even the Round Table Conference and the Joint Select Committee view this proposition with favour. Though the Provincial Government was at one time in favour of recommending the formation of a separate Andhra Province, and though the Raja of Bobbili who leads the biggest party in this Council was a very enthusiastic supporter of that cause, subsequently it would appear that his view underwent some change, and that is why this motion is again revived in this Council. But I am glad to find that even among his own ranks there is a divergence of opinion with regard to the opinion expressed by the Raja of Bobbili recently. Therefore, we may take it for certain that the claim of the Andhras for a province of their own, in spite of the changing opinion of the Raja of Bobbili, stands on a really firm foundation. I do not think it is going to be impractical politics. As for the near future, I am inclined to view the whole discussion as merely academic (laughter). But the passing of a resolution in favour of an Andhra Province will certainly strengthen the sentiment and the desire of the Andhras to have a province of their own.

“ Now, if Madras is not going to be the capital for such an Andhra Province, as my hon. Friend, Mr. Koti Reddi, wants it to be, the Andhras will be faced with two difficulties. In the first place, the difficulty as has been pointed out by Mr. Muniswami Nayudu, is that Chittoor and Ceded districts will secede from the new Andhra Province, and that will not be pressed if Madras is made the capital, as any other place if made capital would be far away from the Ceded districts and Chittoor, as in the case of the Andhra University that memorable event of establishing the University centre at Vizagapatam has given rise to many suspicions in the minds of people who inhabit the Ceded districts and Chittoor. If Madras should be made the capital, that fear would be considerably allayed. Also, if Madras is made the capital, it will minimise the cost of building big public offices, and the new Andhra

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Province will not be mulcted of large sums of money in initial outlay for establishing the capital. With these few observations, I desire to second the amendment of my Friend, Mr. Koti Reddi."

* Mr. A. RANGANATHA MUDALIYAR:—"Mr. President, from the several speeches we have been treated to in this Council, it is clear that so far as the principle is concerned, namely, of having the province redistributed on a linguistic basis it commends itself to the Members of this House. If there are any who do not think so, they will be very few indeed. There are obvious advantages connected with the administration of a province which has the common tie of a common language. The real point which has been given expression to by various speakers is how far that principle can be given effect to. As a matter of fact, we have not faced the issue squarely till now, and I think it is time that we did so and decided whether it was practicable to have the province redistributed on a linguistic basis. We shall say whether it could be brought about, or whether there are any and if so what obstacles there are in the way. If these difficulties can possibly be surmounted, it will be worthwhile to overcome them. For that purpose, I ask the Government to appoint a Committee of officials and non-officials to go into the matter thoroughly and report on the practicability of having the province redistributed on a linguistic basis and I propose for the acceptance of this House the amendment which is in my name, namely—

'For the words between "pleased" in line 2 and "with" in line 4, substitute the following:—

"to appoint a committee of officials and non-officials to report on the re-distribution of this Presidency on a linguistic basis".'

"I do not think, Sir, I need say more on the point."

* Mr. YAKUB HASAN:—"In seconding this amendment, I beg to make a few observations, Sir. The difference of language also, we must remember, connotes difference of culture. All the provinces in India except the Madras Presidency, the Bombay Presidency and the Central Provinces, have become homogenous by this time. Orissa was taken away from Bengal and tacked on to Bihar. Now it is being taken away from Bihar also, so that Bihar will become a purely Bihari province and Orissa will be a purely Orissa province. From the Bombay Presidency, Sind will be taken away, and only Gujarat, Maharashtra and Carnatic will remain in the Bombay Presidency. Here in Madras, we have got so many linguistic provinces brought under one administration called the Madras Presidency. Sir, the time has come for these provinces of Madras and Bombay to be reconstructed and redivided into different provinces on the basis of the language.

"As I said at the beginning of my speech, this difference of language 3 p.m. connotes difference of culture. Bengal has got its own culture which is quite different from the Hindustani or Gujarati culture. So also, throughout the world, every culture is connected with a language and it is the difference of language that makes the difference of culture.

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All people are developing themselves on their own national lines. India being a sub-continent, so many languages are spoken and there are so many different cultures. At the same time, there is one supreme culture which I call the Hindustani culture; the other cultures are sub-cultures. All provinces must develop on their own provincial lines. There is also something in the name. People like to be proud of their country. Bengalis are proud that they are Bengalis; they have got one homogenous province and they are developing on lines which are characteristically Bengali. Andhras like to have a province to call their own; so also Tamils. But nobody can be proud of the Madras Presidency, for what does it connote? It means a mixture of different people living under one administration. There is nothing to make Andhras, Tamils or Malayalis to feel as if they form one people and have one culture. They have got different cultures and are speaking different languages. Each wants to develop in its own way, and it must be given the opportunity. We have got now the Andhra University. That was a very good thing that was done. Because there is Andhra University, practically the Madras University has become Tamil University; it ought to convert itself into a Tamil University. When the Telugu districts are taken from it, Madras will become a Tamilian province. The argument that some provinces will be small and therefore they will not be financially strong enough to have a separate administration, that argument has never appealed to me. In the case of Sind, we have been agitating for its separation on the linguistic basis, not because it contains a larger Muslim population. On linguistic ground alone, I at least supported that proposition. Now, Sind has to be separated in spite of the fact there are some financial difficulties about it. We must have cheaper administration; if a province cannot be a Governor's province, let it be under a Commissioner. Coorg is a Commissioner's province with a legislative council of its own. I do not see why Kerala should not be a small province by itself. The question of smallness or largeness should not trouble us at all. I find Sind has got a population of 3 millions, whereas Malabar has got a population of more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions. Karnataka has got $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions. I do not see why Kerala also should not become a separate province. Either South Kanara should be added to Bombay Presidency or North Kanara should be included in the Madras Presidency if Karnataka cannot be formed a separate province. To divide Karnataka between two provinces, viz., between Bombay and Madras, is not at all proper. On these grounds, I second the proposition that redistribution of districts should take place on linguistic basis and that a Committee should be appointed to go thoroughly into the question."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"The main resolution as well as all the amendments are for the discussion of the House.

"I have to remind the House that we have to take up the adjournment motion at 4 o'clock. We have only 55 minutes before us, and if the House is desirous of having a vote on the subject to-day, we shall have to close it much earlier, at 3-45 or so. I think there are several

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hon. Members who are anxious to speak on this motion. So it depends on how the Members arrange among themselves to speak on this motion."

Mr. K. P. RAMAN MENON:—"So far as I have followed this debate I find hardly two gentlemen agree to a proposition though Mr. Ranganatha Mudaliyar said that very few gentlemen here would disagree with his. I am one of those who totally disagree with the faulty view taken by several speakers with regard to the dismemberment of the Madras Presidency, that there are cultural differences between Telugu people, Tamil people, Kanarese people and Malayalam people. I fail to see such cultural differences. What are the fundamentals of cultural differences? I take all to be of one stock, that is, the Dravidian stock. All these languages are born from one common stock. As far as I can see, there are only two cultures predominant in India, i.e., the Hindu culture and the Muhammadan culture. How is an Andhra Muhammadan different from a Tamil Muhammadan or a Malayali Muhammadan, or how is an Andhra Hindu different from a Tamil or Malayali Hindu? How are the customs of Muhammadans speaking one language different from those speaking some other language? And how are the customs of Hindus in one part of the Presidency different from those living in other parts? With reference to the Marumakkattayam customs in Malabar I may say that Marumakkattayam was not a monopoly of the Malayalis. I was recently reading a book on Malasia; even in such a distant place there is the system of inheritance through women. That is one of those remnants of ancient society which has stuck to the Malabar people and which fortunately is sought to be wiped out by the measure which was passed in this Council last year.

"I believe I have met the arguments put forward as to culture. I may add one more reason with reference to the cultural claims. For example, the songs that are sung by the Hindus in Malabar are the songs composed in Telugu by Tyagaraja who lived in Tamil area. We appreciate them and some of us have gone even to the length of studying Telugu for the purpose of understanding the meaning of those songs.

"Then there is another matter, I want to refer to. Mr. Harischandrudu made a complaint with reference to the paucity of Andhras in the Secretariat. It may be so in other places also. I am sick of this cry about appointments. After all, most of the resolutions in this Council and the speeches delivered are with reference to the distribution of appointments. It is very sickening to find gentleman after gentleman rising in their place and saying, 'my community has not got this appointment, my community has not got that appointment,' and so on. Why? Because they have failed to take advantage of circumstances happening around them. People who have taken advantage of circumstances will come to the forefront. I do not for a moment think that Andhradesa is lacking in intelligence. I believe they are on a par with any other people in the world and are able to hold their own. I personally think the complaint made that in the Andhradesa the Tamil people are holding all higher appointments in the services, that cannot bear scrutiny, just like the other complaint of the Tamil people with reference to others.

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[Mr. K. P. Raman Menon]

Then turning to what my friend Mr. Palat has said, he also repeated this cultural difficulty. He referred to the United States of America. Taking the history of the United States, they started with thirteen States which had one language culture, that is, the English language; other States were annexed in course of time and they adopted the same culture. America expanded itself westward and reached the Pacific Ocean, and the remaining portions were annexed one after another and formed separate States. There is absolutely no comparison between these States and the Madras Presidency.

Then my hon. Friend, Mr. Palat, referred to the question of recent resettlement in Malabar and he seemed to be very optimistic in the matter. He said that the Collector of Malabar could remedy the grievous wrong that has been done with regard to the enhancement of taxes. But I do not agree with him in thinking that the Collector of Malabar would have looked on the question with a more lenient eye than the Government of Madras. On what do the Government of Madras proceed? On the reports of the Collectors. They get reports from the various officers concerned and it is only after the reports are carefully studied they pass orders. So, the man on the spot is really responsible for the Malabar settlement. Does he think that it will profit Malabar if it is cut off from the Madras Presidency and put in the hands of an officer answering to the description of Collector? Does he think that the two great measures that we have been able to put on the statute book, that is, the Malabar Tenancy Act and the Marumakkattayam Partition Act could have been *fait accompli* if Malabar was a province by itself? Certainly, the smaller the area, the more liability there is far a small oligarchy to run the whole State, and it is quite natural to suppose that the forces of reaction would be very strong, and I for one would think that but for the valuable assistance we had got from our Tamil and Telugu friends here who had that mental detachment to look upon these things without any local prejudice, we would not have been in a position to carry on these two measures which have elevated the condition of the people of Malabar to a very great extent. I certainly think we would not have been able to do that but for their assistance; and if we were only in a Malabar province we would have been stewing in our own juice.

Mr. Palat raised the question of appointments. Here Harischandrudu says that Malabar is over-represented in the services in Madras and other places outside Malabar.

3-15 P.M. "Mr. Palat complains on the other hand that it is likely that Malabar would suffer. But I am perfectly hopeful, Sir, and I take an optimistic view that, as a matter of fact, my community and the other communities in Malabar will be able to take care of themselves whether Malabar is cast with the Madras Presidency or even with the Bombay Presidency. It is not a material point, as I said.

I would conclude by saying that if people in the Legislative Assembly complained and are complaining about the separation of Burma from India, if they think that it is exploiting for some ulterior

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purpose, why should we want to dismember our Presidency and at the same time join others in complaining that Burma should not be separated as it is part of the Indian Empire, and Indians have interests there. Similarly, if the Madras Presidency is to be dismembered and cut up, what is to happen to our common interests and our common progress? I would therefore deprecate the idea of any such separation.

"Similarly, I would also deprecate the idea of thinking on tribal lines. If we do so, we would be setting back the hands of the clock by one hundred years. What has English education done to us? A great benefit that it has done us is to unify us in spirit and in sentiment. Now we have one common goal. If any attempt is made to create separate standards of life, etc., it will be nullifying the effects of the English education we have had for the last one hundred years. If we go into the subject more deeply, I submit we can find various arguments based on historic truth against the motion for separation.

"Again, we do not know where this separation craze will stop. To-morrow the Tamil parts might say that they would like to go back to the ancient times. Pandiyas and Cholas might like to have separate provinces and if this process of disintegration goes on, North Malabar might like to be created a province and South Malabar might say the same thing. In fact, Malabar could be split into fourteen little provinces with a little sovereign at the head of each. I submit, Sir, this process must be discouraged and the House will, I believe, put down this attempt with a strong hand."

* Rao Bahadur C. NATESA MUDALIYAR:—"Mr. President, I really sympathise with Mr. Harischandrudu for wanting a separate province. It is the economic condition that makes even nations and countries fight against one another. It is a great mistake on the part of the Madras Services Commission to have dumped a number of Malayalees and the Tamils into the Telugu areas. I find that in nine of the Telugu and Ceded districts, of the 44 supplemental minor ministerial appointments made in the year 1932, 31 of them were Malayalees, ten Tamils, only one Telugu and two Kanarese-speaking people. This state of affairs will irritate anybody. It is the duty of the hon. the Revenue Member to see that some genuine attempt is made to remove this irregularity and create better feeling. (A voice: Not appoint Malabar people?) No. Malayalees are our own people. (Laughter.) Why not send away the Malayalees and Tamils to the Tamil districts and bring in Telugu people to the Telugu parts? There are a number of Telugu graduates trying for appointments for the last three or four years. I know the names of many of them. The Madras Services Commission ought to have done this, but it has not done so. That is why I tabled a resolution to abolish the Commission once for all. Why should it irritate our Andhra brethren by sending so many non-Andhras there?

"Sir, I may tell Mr. Harischandrudu that we are getting on well now and that there is no need for disturbing our relationships. The only problem facing us is that the Telugu people want their share in the administration. And so do the others. We must face the problem

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and solve it satisfactorily, in the manner we did with regard to admission to the Medical College. In regard to the admission to this College, the hon. the Raja of Bobbili in the Local Self-Government Department desired that 50 per cent of the admissions should go to the candidates from Telugu-speaking districts and it was done. With regard to admission to the Medical School also, we selected candidates from each district. If this practice is adopted in regard to appointments by proper arrangements being made by the Government to that end, there will be no difficulty; otherwise there will be trouble like this. In this connexion I must thank my hon. Friend Mr. Raman Menon, who traced the ancestry of us all to the Dravidian stock. Yes, we are all of the Dravidian stock. But if the Telugus want their proper share in the administration, they must be given satisfaction. All people, Tamils, Telugus, Malayalees, Kanarese-speaking ones, Muhammadans, Christians and others should have their share of the Secretariat and other departments. Of course all these people are not anxious for jobs as my hon. Friend Mr. Raman Menon said. They do not want these appointments for the money value thereof; but they want them for the sake of the power the appointments connote. They want to occupy these key positions so that they may be useful to the people in their districts. I request therefore that in the key positions the communities should be represented so that there may be mutual respect and mutual trust for one another among the various communities. If this will be assured, I can request Mr. Harischandrudu not to press his motion.

“Sir, I am very glad that Mr. Raman Menon spoke out lucidly on the question of culture. As he said, we have a common culture, an almost common language and a common interest. People speaking Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kanarese and Maharashtra languages come from the same stock, the Dravidian stock. The Andhras are a chief branch of that Dravidian race. Five thousand years ago when there was an invasion by the Aryans, the Andhras who were occupying the territory between Guzerat and the Ganges valley, were assisted by the Chera, Chola and Pandya kings of the South and defeated the invaders. History supports my statement. So the historian says, Aryans were not able to conquer the Dravidians as barbarous invaders, but they did so as religious hermits. Similarly, about 600 years ago, when there was the threat of another invasion all the kings belonging to the Dravidian stock, made a small zamindar their head and their emperor, the Emperor of Bijayanagar and submitted themselves to be under his suzerainty. The commander-in-chief of the Emperor of Bijayanagar, Krishnadevaraya was a Tamil Mudaliyar. (Laughter.) (Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti: He was a Telugu Mudaliyar, Sir.) (Renewed laughter.) Let him be any Mudaliyar. So, what I am saying is that for the last 5,000 years we, Tamils and Telugus have been living together harmoniously. I am speaking of a historic fact. If you go to the Connemara Library, you can verify my statement and also from the volumes on ‘Castes and Tribes of Southern India’ by Thurston. Sir, we have lived together so long. We have one culture and one language in reality. Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kanarese and Maharashtra languages have all got

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the same root words; only the terminations differ. For instance in Telugu, the termination is 'do' (దు). Except this difference in termination, all these languages are the same. For example the words for 'Thalai' (தலை), 'Kannu' (கண்ணு), 'Mookku' (மூக்கு), 'Chevi' (செவி) are the same in all these languages. Only the terminations are different. Now, what the child begins to learn from its infancy is the same in all these languages, i.e., 'Amma' (அம்மா), 'Appah' (அப்பா), 'Akka' (அக்கா), etc. I am mentioning these to show Mr. Harischandrudu that we are not separate. We have the same customs, the same religion, the same culture, the same language and the same outlook. We cannot be separated. I really congratulate the British Government for having constituted all this territory into one Presidency. But I do not know why they divided Karnataka between Bombay and our Presidency. That, however, is a different question. As I was saying, all our languages have the same root words. Take the word 'Avan' (அவன்) in Tamil. In phonetics அவன் becomes வன்; and with the Telugu termination 'do' (దు) it becomes 'Vandu' (వాండు). (వాండు) is pure gramyam and it conveys the same meaning as 'Avan' (அவன்) in Tamil. As they wanted to make the Telugu language light, they pronounced the word as (వాడు) but half a cypher is put between వ and డ, that is, Ardhanuswara. Those who know all the languages will be in a position to support my contention to indicate the suppression of full cypher. If the word is written without half a cypher (arthanuswar) it is a spelling mistake. So was the case with *ural* in Tamil, *rolu* in Telugu. And so is the case with all the Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kanarese words. When even our languages are the same, I cannot understand why separation is asked for. In some districts there are both Tamils and Telugus and though both have separate headmen, Desayees for Telugus and Nattans for Tamils, when Tamils celebrate marriages and other ceremonies they invite and pay first respect to 'Desayees' the headmen of the Telugus and Telugus do the same with regard to Tamils. When we are thus interconnected, I ask Mr. Harischandrudu, how or why he wants separation. Is he going to ask to to be separated from his relations in the southern parts? There are so many Reddi gentlemen from the extreme north connected by blood with those in the extreme south. (Laughter.) Are you going to say that the hon. Mr. Kumaraswami Reddiyar shall have nothing to do with the Reddies of the north? And, between you Mr. President and Mr. M. K. Reddi, why should there be any barriers? It is impossible to conceive of separation under these circumstances and I wonder how Mr. Ranganatha Mudaliyar wants a committee to consider this question. Taking all these circumstances into consideration I would request Mr. Harischandrudu to withdraw his resolution." (Cries of 'The hon. the Revenue Member.')

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"I see that there are more than 20 hon. Members anxious to speak on this motion. If the House is anxious to take a vote on this question to-day, I will have immediately to call upon the Revenue Member to speak."

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Mr. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN:—"It is too early to call upon the hon. the Revenue Member to reply."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"If that is the sense of the House, I would call upon Mr. Hameed Khan to continue the debate."

Mr. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN:—"Sir, I believe that this question of the separation of the Andhradesa from the rest of the Presidency has been considered twice or thrice in this very House and votes taken in order that the Madras Government might represent the wishes of the Andhra people to the Government of India and see that they received the serious attention of that Government.

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"Unfortunately it seems to me that the Government of Madras have not represented to the Home Government the feelings that exist among the Andhras for the establishment of a separate Andhra Province. When once the principle has been accepted both by the Government and the Congress and the latter has also in its constitution recognized the formation of provinces on a linguistic basis, viz., the Andhra Province, the Kerala Province and so forth, I do not think that Government should stand in the way of any people forming their own Province. When the people of certain provinces ask for a separate province without any division among themselves, we ought not to stand in their way and they should be given a separate province just like Sind or Bihar and Orissa. Whenever the question of the creation of certain new provinces is brought forward, the question of finance is brought in season and out of season by the Government. There are cases where financial questions ought to be looked into but does not the question of finance affect the formation of other provinces also, viz., Orissa, Sind and so forth. Of course there are many other considerations in constituting a separate province for the Andhradesa. There is no doubt that our administration has become very costly because we have got such a large area to be administered. The other thing is that we have got certain small provinces for the administration of which the cost will certainly go down if we separate them into new provinces. So if we separate these provinces, it will be possible for each province to adjust its expenditure according to its income.

"Another point that I would like to emphasize in this connexion is that hereafter in the legislatures the language that will be spoken will be the language of the people and we will be able to conduct our transactions in the Councils in the language of the people; so that we will have real democracy and not autocracy. The language of the respective Legislatures will be either Tamil, Telugu or Malayalam, as the case may be. In order to make democracy real and in order to make a large number of people take real interest in the administration of their province, it is necessary that our province should be divided on a linguistic basis. Of course the question will arise that Urdu language will suffer. I am sure it will not as long as it remains the second language of the people and it is encouraged by a majority of the people. Of course some of my hon. Colleagues added by way of amendments the formation of two or more provinces thus making the

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proposition in a way, ridiculous. The formation of a separate Andhra Province on account of its size stands on a different footing from that of other provinces. In the case of Kerala or Karnataka we have got very many difficulties. In the first instance if we are able to create at least one province, the claims of other districts for forming separate provinces can be considered later on. Instead of that, if we come forward now with proposals for the formation of so many other provinces also, neither this Government, nor the Imperial Government nor the Joint Select Committee will attach any importance to such proposals but would relegate them to the limbo of the future. Therefore I am sorry that hon. Members have thought fit to confuse the issues by bringing in these amendments. Of course my hon. Friend, Mr. Ranganatha Mudaliyar, in his own diplomatic and statesmanlike manner has brought forward an amendment asking for the appointment of a Committee to report on the redistribution of this Presidency on a linguistic basis. I think in a way he has brought forward in his amendment the idea of the hon. the Chief Minister. I do not think it is necessary to go into that question now. When once the principle is accepted, it will not be very difficult for us to have a separate province in the case of Andhradesa as it has been done in the case of Bihar and Orissa or Sind, the details of administration being left to be decided by the province according to its own convenience. Therefore I hope the Council will pass this resolution for the formation of a separate Andhra Province."

Sriman M. G. PATNAIK Mahasaya:—"Sir, with regard to the question of formation of provinces on a linguistic basis, it has been said that there is only one culture, viz., the Dravidan culture so far as the Andhra Province is concerned. Now the question is 'are the Andhras prepared for the formation of a new province of their own?' One will have to address himself to that question. Now the hon. the Raja Sahib of Bobbili who is said to have approached the Under Secretary of State for the formation of an Andhra Province is not now believed to have such an idea. That is one point. Take the case of the Andhra University. That University was established for the benefit of the whole of the Andhra districts, for all the Andhra people. Mr. Yakub Hasan made a mistake in saying that the Andhra University was intended to serve only some of the Andhra districts. If a particular community is anxious to have a university or a province of its own, it ought not to mind any inconvenience that is caused. The Andhras do not want to have a province of their own at the expense of their convenience or amenities. My hon. Friend, Mr. Koti Reddi, was very vehement and eloquent about the formation of the Andhra University. Now will he explain why one district after another cut itself away from the jurisdiction of the Andhra University? Can he explain why that was done? If the Andhra culture was so very important, why should they cut away from the Andhra University?"

Mr. K. KOTI REDDI:—"There are other universities with which they can affiliate themselves more conveniently."

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Sriman. M. G. PATNAIK Mahasayo:—"There may be 20,000 universities but you want one university to develop your culture. But you say 'We cannot go so far; we want to be detached.' So you are not prepared to put up with a slight inconvenience. That is the point I want to make.

"So far as my hon. Friend, Mr. Bhanoji Rao, is concerned his position is quite clear. He already wanted to have Vizagapatam as the seat of the Andhra University because it has got a Medical College. So if an Andhra Province is formed, he would naturally like to have the headquarters of the Andhra Government at Vizagapatam. It is all from a selfish point of view that this resolution is brought forward. On the other hand Mr. Harischandrudu may want that Bezvada should be the capital of the Andhra Province. The position of Ganjam is a different one. Now a portion of Ganjam is going to be tacked on to Orissa and in the consequent redistribution a portion of Vizagapatam will have to go in with Ganjam and Vizagapatam will go further down to West Godavari. Are the people of East Godavari prepared to lose a portion in favour of Vizagapatam and again are the people of East Godavari going to agree to two taluks being tacked on to West Godavari? If this is not done, what is real patriotism. Otherwise, I cannot understand how this resolution has been brought forward. It must have been brought forward with some selfish motive or other. So far as the Andhras are concerned, they are not prepared to have a province of their own. But so far as the Kanarese people are concerned, there are some reasons for their having a separate province of their own. Therefore, I think their case ought to be very sympathetically considered. It is said that Andhras are not getting their due share of appointments in the public service. It is true that there are some difficulties in their way, but they can be got over by applying other remedies. My hon. Friend, Mr. Natesa Mudaliyar, said out of irritation that certain appointments were not given to the Andhras. Mr. Harischandrudu has brought forward this resolution and I think he is quite right. All this has come out of irritation, and not out of a deep feeling of patriotism for the formation of a new province."

* Mr. C. R. PARTHASARATHI AYYANGAR:—"Sir, I think it is high time that we should cry halt to our movements for the formation of separate provinces on a linguistic basis, until we have accomplished our real objective, viz., the consolidation of a united India. Unless our educated people and our leaders feel that we are Indians first—and it has got a greater significance, greater importance and greater consequence than the idea of forming a separate Andhra, Karnataka or Kerala Province, there is no salvation for India. We must realize that in practice, and I do not think it advisable, for some time to come, to think about the formation of separate provinces. If people really mean business, then they must not consider about the Andhra Province now. They must feel that the interests of the whole country, viz., India should be given the first preference to any particular area, viz., either the Andhradesa or the Kerala or the Karnataka. I do not want you to consider about the formation of Andhra Province now. You may think of it afterwards.

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You must try to weld the whole of India into one homogeneous whole. That is the proper way of dealing with the question. The Englishman does not realize that the interests of England and India are one. Therefore we will have to wait until we get from him the recognition that all India is one. I hope that the examination of the White Paper to consolidate and weld India into one homogeneous whole has come to a successful termination and when Federated India becomes a *fait accompli*, then it will be time enough for us to think of dividing our Presidency or the whole of India on a linguistic basis.

“Therefore the more important thing, it seems to me, is to educate the people, to make them think that they are Indians first and then only Andhras, Karnatakas and so on. Until that is done, discussions of this kind will be merely of academical value. There are a number of Andhras in the Central Provinces, in Berar and in Mysore; are you going to take them also into your Andhra Province? If really the Andhras want to contribute something special, something of their own individuality to Indian culture, there is plenty of time to consider that question, there is plenty of time to decide whether an Andhra Province is necessary for that. Let us first of all get united, think of ourselves as Indians and then there is sufficient time for us to think of our individual cultures and civilization. That is the rule of nature. I want to ask: are we able to give anything to the world or to the Empire at large? What is our contribution? The way in which the hon. Member, Mr. Harischandrudu, has gone about the question is topsy-turvy. He says, we want a separate province because we want a separate university, we want a separate high court and so on. All that is good, no doubt, but is it not thinking of yourself first and then of the country? That is a state of affairs which nature does not contemplate and we cannot contemplate that state of affairs too, namely, myself first and my country last. That is a state of affairs which speaks of an abnormal state of mind and it should not be allowed to develop. Therefore, I submit to the House whether this question of an Andhra Province should be considered now or postponed to a later time. Of course, the Andhras are a very emotional people and they are easily carried away by their emotion. They are very good people and they have their own contribution in due time to make. On the other hand, our Tamilian friends are not emotional, they know what they do and they are intellectual. Unless there is a fusion of the two—emotion and intellect—each will be imperfect without the other. In India let there be a free mixing of the special qualities of the several people—the Malayalis, the Karnatakas, the Andhras, the TAMILIANS and so forth, the people of the north and the people of the south. Let us see what the result is. Till then any question of a separate province for any of these people will be of academic interest. Let me say plainly that if anyone now talks of ‘my province, my community’ and so on, it would show nothing but his selfishness. He wants something for himself and not for his country. So long as his own self-interest is not submerged in the bigger interests of the country as a whole or even the whole Empire, the time will not be ripe for consideration of the question of separate provinces.”

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* **Mr. T. S. RAMASWAMI AYYAR**:—"Sir, the Andhras want a separate province and they are certainly entitled to have one. At the same time, I will only ask them whether this is the opportune moment to raise this question. We now find that it is with the greatest difficulty that the constitution is being framed for the future Government of India and even as it is, it looks as if the constitution will not be ready as early as we originally expected. In spite of the great trouble taken by all the parties, even Provincial Autonomy, which was expected in 1933 and later in 1934, is not likely to be introduced till 1935. I think that the hon. Member, Mr. Muniswami Nayudu, told us the other day that he expected the election, to take place in 1935. If things are going to get delayed like that, we should not be a party to further delay on our account. If the question about the provinces is raised to-day it will be a matter for the Joint Parliamentary Committee to consider and it will not be possible for them to come to an early decision. Perhaps a commission will have to be appointed to find out how this question could be tackled. The financial implications will have to be looked into. When the Commission's report is received by the Joint Parliamentary Committee, the question will have to be examined from the political standpoint how the franchise is to be adjusted, how the province is to be formed, what its financial and other relations should be with the Central Government and so on. All these questions cannot be solved in a single day. As I said before, I certainly sympathize with the claim that the Andhras should have a province of their own. In view of the fact that there will be a provision in the Federal Constitution to the effect that provinces may get divided if there is a demand for it, I ask the Andhras to consider whether the issue need be raised immediately and whether by so doing they would not be delaying the constitution that is to come. The country is now chafing at the delay in introducing the new constitution and we cannot blame anybody if we ourselves put obstacles in the way of framing the new constitution. It is only this aspect of the matter that I want to put before the Council. If I have risen to speak on this question at all, it is not to oppose the formation of an Andhra Province. I certainly sympathize with the Andhras in their attempt to form a province for themselves, but I ask whether it will not be possible for them to raise this question at a later stage after the new Constitution has been brought into being.

"One more observation, Sir. Now we find that in the whole of India the general wish is for unity. It is felt that we are unnecessarily disunited. It is said there was no need for Burma being separated from India. Why then this great hurry for subdivisions? I therefore suggest that the whole question might be raised at a more opportune moment."

Mr. MAHBOOB ALI BAIG:—"Mr. President, Sir, it is too late in the day to resist the claim of the Andhras to have a province of their own, for it has already been recognized by all sections of people and by the Government also as long ago as 1911. The claim seems to be just irresistible. I consider it unnecessary for me to go over the same ground covered by the previous speakers. The various conferences and the local bodies have repeatedly made this claim. This Council itself has given

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its considered opinion more than once. I believe, Sir, neither the Government nor any responsible official or non-official has in the past opposed the claim on the ground of finance, or the smallness of area or population, or inadequacy of the material resources or lack of a sufficient number of efficient administrators or lack of homogeneity in the population. To whatever religion the people belong, they have always felt alike the handicap of belonging to a larger Madras Province. I shall not deal with the various causes of irritation enumerated by the Chief Minister in his reply to the critics which he published in the local newspapers last month, but one thing seems to be clear: in attempting to meet his critics, the Raja Saheb gave up his case when he said that it was for the elected members of this Council belonging to the various linguistic areas to get together and frame an agreed scheme and that the Government would certainly consider all these matters. But why, I ask, should this patchwork, this unsatisfactory and inadequate remedy be resorted to? There are elements of discontent and smooth working of the Government might be difficult. It would give cause for anxiety to the Governor and his Ministers. Surely, Sir, this remedy is shortsighted and hesitating. Although, Sir, the Raja Saheb gave a formal recognition in the first part of his article to the claim of the Andhras and advised them to postpone their claim in the larger interests of the country, namely, the necessity of making a common cause with the whole of India in claiming reforms, yet, Sir, I believe in the end, he sought to discountenance the claim by advising them to rest content with the make-shift arrangement which has been referred to above. The question is now how best arrangements could be made for the Andhras to share the loaves and fishes of office or how best arrangements could be made to spend Government revenues on a population basis for the benefit of the Andhra districts, but the question is how best the Andhras could manage their own affairs. That is a matter which goes to the very root of the establishment of autonomous units in the Indian Federation. Knowing as I do, the mind of the Andhras, I have no hesitation in saying that the Andhras will not be satisfied with anything short of an autonomous province which will enable them to work out their own destinies as one of the units of the Indian Federation under the sovereignty of His Majesty the King Emperor."

As it was 4 o'clock, the debate on this subject was stopped and the adjournment motion was taken up.

II.—ADJOURNMENT MOTION REGARDING THE ORDER OF DISBANDMENT AND RE-EMPLOYMENT OF PERSONS IN PUBLIC SERVICE ON ACCOUNT OF RETRENCHMENT—*cont.* 4 p.m.

MR. BASHEER AHMED SAYEED:—"Mr. President, Sir, I move—

that the business of the House do stand adjourned for the purpose of discussing a definite matter on urgent public importance to wit, G.O. No. 277, Public (Services) Department, dated 29th March 1933, regarding the order of disbandment and re-employment of persons in public service on account of retrenchment."

"I might state even at the outset that this motion of adjournment is not intended to record any vote of censure on the Government or on the policy which they appear to have adopted hitherto. On the other hand